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To make up this deficiency in graminaceae, the Tuareg have recourse to products of gathering.

After a rain the captives and the Imrad women gather the seeds of certain plants which grow in the Ahaggar valleys. They are the afasso (Panicum turgidum F.) and the oulloul (Aristida pungens D.). But the size of the yield varies with the abundance of rain, and one may say that most of the time it is quite /233/ uncertain. This is not the case in the Sudan, where the Iklan gather whole bags of wild seeds, particularly cram-cram (Cenchrus echinatus), every year.

Fig. 31. Little leather flask used as a butter container.

To be sure, there are a few wild berries in the Ahaggar, such as those from the jujube tree (Zizyphus lotus D.) and the téborak (Balanites aegyptiaca). In case of famine the Tuareg fall back on other seeds, such as those of the colocynth, the Acacia tortillis, etc. However, all these plants play only a secondary role in the Tuareg diet.

The Tuareg have at their disposal milk from their camels, goats, and ewes. They drink it either whole or diluted with water, either fresh or sour.

The luxury of drinking whole milk is reserved for young mothers and children. Adults generally drink fresh milk morning and

[264]

272 evening after the milking, and at the noon meal they drink milk which has already soured. It may accompany the dishes /234/ of [262] béchena, serve as a sauce, and also be taken as a drink. When they make long moves, the Tuareg carry a bag full of skim milk on their camels. This turns rapidly and gives a sour-tasting whey which is very refreshing. But milk is particularly appreciated for its by-products, butter and cheese.

234 Butter -- oudi -- is obtained by churning milk in a [415] little leather 237] bag; a woman shakes it on her knees, making it swing from right to left and from left to right. [237] The butter collected is placed [415] inside a sheep's horn which serves as a receptacle. When butter production exceeds daily consumption, the butter is placed in leather containers, in the shape of a flask, where the heat usually keeps it liquid or very fluid, except in winter when it is necessary to heat it to get it out of the container.

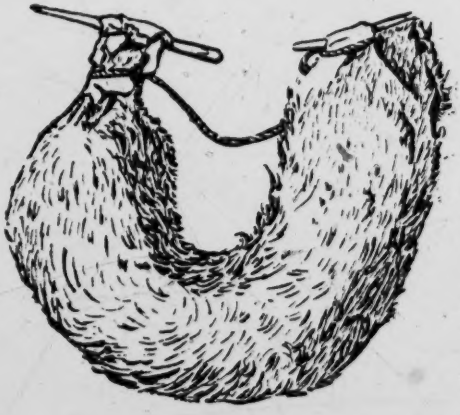

Fig. 32. Butter container made from the skin of a camel's neck.

Butter is mainly eaten as a sauce; béchena gruel or wheat 262 cakes are moistened with it. The Tuareg never cook it, as in fried foods.

In years when pasturage is particularly good, which assures an 234 abundance of milk from the animals, the Tuareg make cheese -- tikomaren. They sour the milk, squeeze the curds in little mats

264 Before the French occupation the Tuareg as a general rule had only one meal a day, in the evening, after milking the animals. During the day they contented themselves with drinking a little milk.

252 262 The national dish of the Tuareg is asink, which is a porridge of millet cooked in water and moistened with butter or whey. This meal is especially popular in winter and during the entire cold season. During the very hot months, they prefer a beverage of water or whey in which they throw millet flour, diluted sometimes with dry cheese or powdered dates. This is alakoh. Dates are also eaten /237/ in summer, ground and mixed with water or milk.

252 When the Tuareg kill a sheep, they prepare the intestines which they enclose inside the stomach. After having tied the two extremities of the stomach, they put it on a bed of ashes to cook. This way of cooking, which is the one most commonly used by hunters, is called abatoul. Meats are prepared boiled or cooked under the ashes. Those that are boiled are particularly the ones which were previously dried (wild sheep, gazelle, sometimes sheep). In this case, they are first crushed between two stones, for they are as hard as wood; the meat is then spread in pieces on a dish of asink.

The Tuareg do not prepare roast meat over embers, but they place it under the ashes. When they want to cook a whole sheep, they open it in two and then put it under the ashes, taking care to turn it once during the roasting.

252 262 For great occasions -- religious festivals, marriages, or receptions for prominent guests -- the Tuareg butcher young camels. They serve them with a couscous of coarse-grained wheat.

The domestic animals slaughtered are goats, sheep, camels, and cattle when there are any. They do not eat horses, asses, or dogs.

727 Cooking is done by the captives, close by the masters' tents.

264 Men take their meals by themselves and receive the food first. Women and children eat in their turn, and the Iklan receive the rest.

264 [415] The Tuareg use spoons. The use of this implement is peculiar to them, for their Arab or Negro neighbors eat with their hands. The custom must be related to the wearing of the veil, which they [182 291] do not take off to eat and which prevents them from putting their hands full of food to their mouths. They carry food to their mouths while slightly holding up the ends of their veils.

[271 272] For beverages they drink only water, whether it is clean or polluted, and milk.

For half a century they have had the habit of drinking green tea in the Arab manner; they aromatize it with mint or some perfumed plants of the Ahaggar, /238/ chih (Artemisia herba alba) in particular. Coffee, which was formerly much used by them, is now [157 178] taken mainly as a medication to calm violent coughs or stomach aches.

276 If we now seek consumer goods taken as stimulants or narcotics, we see that the Tuareg know only tobacco, which they chew or take as snuff.

Smoking is not one of their customs. The young men who are [177] in contact with the French like to beg a cigarette, but it is simply in the spirit of imitation.

114 276 Duveyrier, however, has said that the Tuareg smoke. Was this, perhaps, the fashion among the Tuareg who visited Ghat? Before him Barth wrote that all riverain people living along the Niger loved to smoke. "It is very seldom that they leave their pretty little clay pipes, and all the Rouma, like the Tuareg, cover their mouths when smoking, so that all one sees is a pipe bowl coming out of the shawl which covers the face. (1)

1. Voyage en Afrique, vol. IV, p. 137.

252 They may not heat camel's milk which has just been milked
825 under penalty of causing sickness to the animal which gave it.

264 Insofar as personal interdicts are concerned, there are none to speak of, for although men and women must not eat together, this is a custom rather than an interdict.

[606] A married man must not eat with his parents-in-law, and the oldest son must not eat with his father. These are mainly marks of respect, perhaps traces of ancient practices of a religious nature.

/240/ Chapter 4

Hunting and Fishing

We shall now say a few words on the industries allied to the problems of food, that is, on hunting, fishing, animal husbandry, and agriculture.

136 Hunting. -- In a country where fauna was at all dense, hunting
174 would have brought a not inconsiderable dietary supplement to the Ihaggaren. In the past it was very much esteemed in the Sahara. Many rock drawings and paintings prove this, for they depict hunting scenes which interpret the state of civilization of the men, their preoccupation, and at the same time the nature of the fauna, which has changed a great deal since then.

[132] Today, with the very advanced drying out of almost all the
224 Saharian districts, the fauna has come out into the open and the species likely to be usefully hunted are reduced to a few. Only gazelles and wild sheep are still hunted. We cannot mention the addax and oryx antelopes, for the former is in the process of becoming extinct in the Sahara, while the second is confined to the steppe zone. The hare and jackal may be accessorily added.

764 A marabout or a literate man reads the Moslem prayer, and the men, standing behind him with their hands coupled and open at chest height, repeat it with him. Women do not participate in the burial.

Modern Tuareg tombs have stone markers (chouabed), one at the feet and one at the head for men, one at the head and two at the feet for women. They are oval in shape and the mound is slightly dome-shaped. They usually have stones around them, forming a gully with a forward part open to the east. One often finds wooden stakes or tent stakes stuck into the two ends of the grave, as well as large balls of hyaline quartz which, /297/ according to the Tuareg, were used to rub the body of the dead man before burying him. In many places where there are hyenas, as in the Sudan, the tomb is generally covered over with thorny branches to prevent them from digging up the dead man.

After the burial the persons who came for the occasion present their condolences to the family. The family has a meal served for them in memory of the deceased.

768 The dead man's clothing are given to the marabout or to the person who washed him.

Then camp is immediately broken, and the people never return to camp at that place.

Mourning does exist among the Tuareg. It lasts only a short time for the man who has lost his wife. For three days he stays shut up in his tent. During this time the ahal and all rejoicings are forbidden in the camp. For the wife who has lost her husband, mourning is a real retreat which lasts four months and ten days, during which time she must not appear in public. The end of the retreat is marked by a little ceremony: the women of the camp take the widow to see the sunrise, present her with an open book of piety, and show her some salt.

761 The Tuareg never bewail the death of a person, and condolences often have the following formula: "You are fortunate, for the one you loved is now in the paradise of God."

727 of captures, however, he had to give half of the captured animals
714 to the lender. In case of failure and death of the camel, he did
426 not have to reimburse him.

721 The men met, discussed the planned expedition, and uttered
726 a ritual formula (narhaī allar) which bound them together for the duration of the expedition, during which time they were to give mutual assistance to one another.

Then they named a chief who was not necessarily an Amajer /sing. of Imochar - Ed./ but a man renowned for his courage, his /322/ suitability, and his experience on expeditions of this kind. Then the group left, preceded by scouts.

726 All baggage was left behind. Everyone mounted on camel back, taking only the bare necessities for the road, for it was necessary to go quite fast and try to keep the animals in good condition. Before sunrise, the raid was already on its way, and the rapid pace was maintained without stopping until evening. The men ate only
[262 a few dates at noon, did not take their siestas, and ate a meal
264] only in the evening -- all was sacrificed to the speed of the march, which was the key to success.

Nearing their goal, the raiders forced their march even more if that were possible, and they often divided into two parties; one was entrusted with seizing the animals and bringing them to a specified point, the other created a diversion in the enemy camps to sidetrack them.

[911] The surprised enemy was attacked with gunshots by a few men deployed as riflemen, while meharists swooped down on them, hurled their javelins, and then soon came to hand-to-hand fighting. The people who were attacked, for their part, tried to find out the strength of the assailants, and depending on the case they retreated or themselves attacked.

In spite of this martial deployment and the vigor of the attack, these combats were not very deadly, in general, and did not always cause deaths.

The donkey carries the waterskins from the well to the tent, and on its back is placed a packsaddle made of curved pieces of wood bound together, which is called "eroukou."

Let us not forget the Tuareg's saddle, "terik," and if the master of the tent is well-to-do, his wife's saddle, "tekhaouit." /28/

The tent is divided in two: one side for the man and the other for the woman. On the man's side are his saddle, his arms, and the things used for eating. On the woman's side are her saddle, her "amz'ad," and the cooking utensils.

Custom decrees that the man choose the east part for his side, and the woman the west part.

A group of tents is called "amezar'" ⵜⵉⵣⵔⵉ, and a single tent "ehan" ⵜⵉⵀⴰⵏ, plural "ehanan" ⵉⵜⵉⵀⴰⵏⴰⵏ.

Dautheville

Tent of a Tedjehe-Mellet
at Amra (Black Tifedest)

Chapter XV

Food

The main meal takes place at noon and is called "tarout" ⵜⴰⵔⵓⵜ. In the evening the Tuareg is

usually satisfied with milk, "akh, " fresh ("akh oua kefaïen" 264 ●
[illegible]) or sour ("akh iezza", [illegible]), at
the hour when the camels, sheep, or goats come in from
pasture.

The basic food of the Ahaggar Tuareg consists of bechna, 262
"inelli" (white-grain sorghum, Graminaceae), dates, "teïni, "
and milk, "akh. " [illegible]

But their country provides them with many resources 22
which they are careful not to neglect, especially the poor, 556
the "tileqqiouin" [illegible] , who constitute the majority.

All the "imr'ad" go to harvest the grains of "toulloult" 243
and "afezzou. " Women, children, youths, negroes and 221
negresses go into the wadis
to gather the harvest, which
takes place from May to June
for "toulloult" and from July
to the end of September for
"afezzou. " /29/

Dautheville.

Idelés (Koudia)

Usually, before the
harvest several wadis are for-
bidden territory, and camels
are not led there until the
harvest is finished.

The produce is gathered
and put into hide sacks. After the grains have dried, they 252
need only to be put onto small trays of "afezzou, " called
"tissiin, " which are shaken, and the hulls fall off and remain
on top. The grains are ground to powder, and a kind of gruel
is made with water or butter.

The Tuareg are also very fond of "tikamarin" [illegible] 234 252 262 438
, cheeses as hard as wood which they get from Aïr. They
grind them in mortars and mix them in their food.

They very seldom eat meat, except that of game which 262
they can kill in a hunt: gazelles, mountain sheep, and 224
antelopes. But often they prefer to smoke this game in order 251
to go and sell it in the Tidikelt. 438

857 /123 cont./ uran made the camel run until it fell completely
868 exhausted and refused to budge. The man almost died of
825 thirst while following the tracks of his animal. When he found it the first thing he did, even before drinking, was to let the uran go."

855 Upon re-entering the tent at night, tired from running about during the day, his imagination full of his discoveries, the child settles down in front of the fire, whose flames execute a marvelous dance for him. His eyes close as Venus, "she who sold her father to have beauty," sinks on the horizon.
• [264] This does not please the mother; the child must eat, and one eats late in the tent, for the slaves must milk the camels and goats before making supper. She awakens her son, draws him to her, covering him with a dokkali to protect him from the cool of the night, and then begins to tell tales of the past.

539 /124/ These stories, which make up Tuareg folklore, tend to disappear. Many young people do not know them; one must ask the old Tuareg men, those who miss the days of the raids, or, preferably, the women, who in all ages have been the keepers of tradition.

Some of these stories are fables peopled by the animals of the Ahaggar or the Sudan; sometimes they express a moral, but that is rare. Others are amazing tales in which monsters and genii harass men; often a hero succeeds in vanquishing them. These stories are very long; they contain instruction in the customs, and I think they bear a message from distant ancestors. This message, sometimes stylized, truncated, or embellished by the oral transmission, deserves to be studied; in order to do this, as many as possible of these tales should be collected before they are forgotten.

Here is the story of the jackal and the dob, as it was told to me by one of my pupils, a Targui of noble stock.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

into fine-grained sand carried from the river bed to the fire place in front of the tent. When this heavy fire has calmed down the embers and most of the ashes are moved from the shallow depression to its fringes by means of a small stick, and the thin porridge or gruel of flour and water to which also a little salt is added is poured out into the depression, a spoon being normally used to remove all the gruel out of the wooden bowl in which it has been stirred. A bunch of dry grasses, herbs, or tender twigs is thereupon fired over the gruel in order that its surface may harden, and it is then covered with hot fine-grained sand, ashes, and embers in the order mentioned. If the embers are considered insufficient for baking, a small fire may be lit on the top of the sand and ashes covering the gruel-bread, which is taken out after about twenty minutes to be turned and baked in the same way on the other side for a few minutes. Baking is then finished, the bread is finally removed to be washed in water (Fig. 183). It is broken into pieces and eaten from a large wooden bowl (Figs. 195a–b) together with liquid butter. It is eaten with wooden spoons (Figs. 191).

The type of bread just mentioned is known to people of the *Kel Ferwan* group as *tugella*. It is made by very few Tuareg. Indeed, when I travelled together with Ayr Tuareg I very frequently baked my own bread as I had learned to from the Tuareg of Ahaggar, because very few of the Ayr Tuareg I met were familiar with bread baking. Bread is not a staple diet of the Ayr Tuareg, and when they want to bake wheat flour they generally do so in the following way:— The flour is mixed with water to a dough which is placed upon the bottom and sides of a metal pot heated over the fire. This type of bread or bread-like dish is known to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg as *gwasa*. It can be mentioned that the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg also bake a particular type of bread from millet flour mixed with certain other plant materials, but a bread of this kind is not baked for ordinary food, but as a kind of medicine.

Fig. 174. Roasting meat-lumps by the *mechwi* method. Ayr, *Kel-chikhan* Tuareg of Damergu.

[text continues on p. 241]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

252 *415 412 439 291 516

Fig. 192. Tuareg woman cooking millet porridge. Ahaggar, the *Aṭṭuh-en-tehlé* tribe. The cooking pots seen on this photograph are bought in the Sudan on trading expeditions. Sudanese pots are superior to those made in Ahaggar.

Like

264 most Tuareg dishes they are eaten from a large wooden bowl. If meat is cooked with the soup it may be broken into small pieces to be eaten with the balls, but part of the meat cooked is always eaten separately. The Tuareg eat *keskesu* with spoons, but if spoons are lacking they also eat it with the 262 hand, as do the Arabs. In addition to *keskesu* with its small balls which resemble grains of rice, the Northern Tuareg have another dish prepared in the same way but with larger balls. It is termed [189] *tikhemmezin* and is considered inferior to the *keskesu*. – Both these dishes are unknown to the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group.

262 Two particular dishes are mentioned from Ahaggar by Foucauld. One of them is called *iberǧan* 252 and consists of unripe barley boiled in its own juice without water. The other one is known as *aberbez* [267] and is made from tender plants of wheat and barley which are dried and pounded or ground into powder, to be eaten, boiled or unboiled, in periods of famine (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 89, 118).

Tuareg vegetable dishes are frequently prepared in a very simple way. Thus there is a dish known as *twes* (Ahaggar) or *tewes* (Ayr) which consists of entire seeds of millet or sorghum boiled in water. It is eaten mainly by children who frequently walk about the camp eating these boiled grains from their hands.

252 It is clear from the description of vegetable dishes that the cooking pot plays an important role for *415 food preparation, and all dishes prepared in this way, including cooked meat, are known to the Tuareg

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

as *téyint* (Ayr) or *talekkint* (Ahaggar). But pastoral Tuareg do not make earthenware pots themselves. They obtain them from sedentary people, and it is possible that vegetable dishes have been prepared with hot stones up to recent times, for Foucauld states that hot stones are occasionally used for various vegetable dishes in Ahaggar (Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1583). However, I have not been able to confirm this during my own investigations among the Tuareg. It should be added that certain vegetable dishes are neither boiled nor baked. This is the case with seeds and roots of various wild plants which are ground and pounded into flour to be eaten without further preparation. Such dishes are known to the Tuareg as *tébik* (Ahaggar) or *iéderka* (Ayr). Seeds and roots of wild plants utilized in this way have been mentioned in the chapter on collecting p. 175 ff.

The Tuareg have a great many different dishes, but in spite of this variety they do not always change their food from one day to another. They frequently live on the same type of food for extremely long periods. They may live almost exclusively on milk for weeks and even months, and if milk is not available they live so to speak exclusively on vegetable dishes, which may also not be changed for very long periods.

The Ahaggar Tuareg have three meals a day:— (1) *tagimgimt* which is a light meal taken in the morning. (2) *amekli* which is a prepared meal (e.g., bread, porridge, or *arehara*) eaten at midday. (3) *amagin* which is the evening meal, also known as *amensi*, or *azuzeg*. It is the most important meal.

Fig. 193. Tuareg woman cooking kuskus (*keskesu*) in an European enamelled pot. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 194a–c. Bowl-like ladles from Ahaggar and Ayr. They are used mainly for eating liquid dishes – in particular for the dish known as *ayvhara* (Ahaggar) or *ayelira* (Ayr).

a. Ladle (*tamaiat*) cut by blacksmith from wood of the *tabarak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.285 m long, 0.110–0.120 m in diameter (the bowl). (N.M. G. 5845).

b. Ladle (*tamaiat*). Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: 0.330 m long. (N.M. G. 6631).

c. Ladle-like bowl (*assay*) cut by blacksmith from wood of the *tabarak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanrasset. This ladle-like bowl was not used for food but for conservation of fine-grained sand used for hair-dressing together with water and butter. Dimension: 0.330 m long, 0.120 m in diameter (the bowl). (N.M. G. 5879).

[302]

264 frequently consisting of bread or porridge eaten rather late at night. The Ayr Tuareg have related terms for their meals:— (1) *tegimgimt* which is a prepared meal eaten late in the morning. (2) *tèmekkelewt* which is the prepared meal taken at midday. (3) *temegint*, late evening meal which is the main [272] meal in Ayr, as in Ahaggar. In addition to these meals there is a very light meal taken with tea immidiately after rising. It is known as *elfetur*.

[511] Incidentally there are Tuareg who do not have food enough to eat three times a day.

During times when Tuareg subsist exclusively on milk they have no regular meals. The amount [484] of milk needed to support life is very great, and it is drunk slowly during the day. On extensive journeys when the camels cross the barren deserts, the Tuareg also do not have regular meals as they do in their camps.

[text continues on p. 255]